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the Iroquois and Fox.[1] In the article mentioned above we have given our reasons for believing that these ethnologists were mistaken in their interpretation.

In the Winnebago language the four words most commonly used in speaking of the spirits are *wak'aⁿ*, *wak'a'ndja*, *zop*, and *wazop'i'ni*. *Wak'aⁿ* seems exactly equivalent to our word "sacred," while *wak'a'ndja*, which is identical with the Omaha word *wakonda*, means thunderbird. In all likelihood it originally meant "he who is sacred" or something like that. It has nothing to do with the word "thunder," which is *kⁱoire* in Winnebago. The word *wak'aⁿ* also means snake, for the snake is a holy animal among the Winnebago, the messenger of the spirits. The word *zop*, identical with the Omaha *zube*, is more difficult to define. It means sacred and awe-inspiring and seems to be associated, in the eyes of the Winnebago, with the intensely emotional aspects of religion, where self is completely forgotten. Those ceremonies, in which the performers work themselves into a frenzy of excitement and dance naked, are always referred to as *zop*. The word *wazop'i'ni* is clearly a noun compounded of the indefinite prefix *wa-* and the suffix *-ni*, which possibly is an old agentive nominalizer, or, more probably, an old stem meaning "man." It occurs also in the word *manka'ni*, medicine-man. In other words it means "he who" or "that which is holy." *Wazop'i'ni* is the only Winnebago word for spirit. Both the words *wak'andja* and *wazop'i'ni* are very definite terms referring to individualized spirits.

As to the use of the adjectives *wak'aⁿ* and *zop*, there seems to be little mystery about them. They are used much as our words "holy" and "sacred." Anything in any way connected with the spirits is either *wak'aⁿ* or *zop*. If a Winnebago were to come across some unusually shaped object he might offer tobacco to it, and upon being questioned he would undoubtedly say that the object is *wak'aⁿ*. What is it that he means by *wak'aⁿ*? From my experience in the field he simply means that it is "sacred," and if pressed for a more definite answer he would probably say that it has the power of

[1] According to Mr. Hewitt, orenda is a "magic power which was assumed . . . to be inherent in every body . . . and in every personified attribute, property, or activity . . . This hypothetic principle was conceived to be immaterial, occult, impersonal, mysterious in mode of action . . . The possession of orenda . . . is the distinctive characteristic of all the gods, and these gods in earlier time were all the bodies and beings of nature in any manner affecting the weal or woe of man." (Article "Orenda" in the Handbook of American Indians, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, pt. 2.) According to W. Jones, the manito "is an unsystematic belief in a cosmic, mysterious property, which is believed to be existing everywhere in nature . . . The conception of this something wavers between that of a communicable property, that of a mobile, invisible substance, and that of a latent transferable energy: . . . this substance, property, or energy is conceived as being widely diffused amongst natural objects and human beings . . . the presence of it is promptly assigned as the explanation of any unusual power or efficacy which any object or person is found to possess: . . . It is a distinct and rather abstract conception of a diffused, all-pervasive, invisible, manipulable, and transferable life-energy, or universal force . . . (Finally) all success, strength, or prosperity is conceived to depend upon the possession of (this force)."—"The Algonkin Manitou" (Journal of American Folklore, vol. 18, no. LXX, pp. 183-190, 1905).

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In 1910 the cult already had a rather definite organization. There was, at every performance, one leader (pl. 54, *a*) and four principal participants. John Rave (pls. 5, *b*; 55, *b*), the Winnebago who introduced the peyote, was always the leader whenever he was present. On other occasions leadership devolved upon some older member. The four other principal participants changed from meeting to meeting, although there was a tendency to ask certain individuals whenever it was possible. The ritualistic unit, in short, is a very definite one, consisting of a number of speeches and songs and in the passing of the regalia from one to the other of the four participants.

During the early hours of the evening, before the peyote has begun to have any appreciable effect, a number of apparently intrusive features are found. These, for the most part, consist of speeches by people in the audience and the reading and explanation of parts of the Bible. After the peyote has begun to have an appreciable effect, however, the ceremony consists exclusively of a repetition of the ritualistic unit and confessions.

There is an initiation consisting of a baptism, always performed by John Rave. It is of a very simple nature. Rave dips his fingers in a peyote infusion and then passes them over the forehead of the new member, muttering at the same time the following prayer:

"God, his holiness."

This is what the Winnebago words mean, although some of the younger members who have been strongly permeated with Christian teachings translate the prayer into, "God, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

Whenever the ceremony is performed in the open a fireplace in the shape of a horseshoe is made. At one end of this fireplace is placed a very small mound of earth, called by Rave "Mount Sinai," and in front of this a cross is traced in the earth. Upon the small earth mound are placed the two "chief" peyote, the Bible and the staff. The latter, called by Rave the shepherd's crook, is always covered with beadwork, and generally has a number of evenly cut tufts of deer hair on the end and at intervals along its length. The sacred peyote, known as *hunka* (i. e., "chief") are exceptionally large and beautiful specimens. They are regarded by a number of people, certainly by Rave, with undisguised veneration.

In addition to the above, there is found a large eagle feather fan, a small drum, and a peculiar small type of rattle. To my knowledge, this type was unknown among the Winnebago before its introduction by the peyote eaters.

John Rave's Account of the Peyote Cult and of His Conversion

During 1893–94 I was in Oklahoma with peyote eaters.

In the middle of the night we were to eat peyote. We ate it and I also did. It was the middle of the night when I got frightened, for

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159 a live thing seemed to have entered me. "Why did I do it?" I thought
794 to myself. I should not have done it, for right at the beginning I
276 have harmed myself. Indeed, I should not have done it. I am sure
786 it will injure me. The best thing will be for me to vomit it up. Well, now, I will try it. After a few attempts I gave up. I thought to myself, "Well, now you have done it. You have been going around trying everything and now you have done something that has harmed you. What is it? It seems to be alive and moving around in my stomach. If only some of my own people were here! That would have been better. Now no one will know what has happened to me. I have killed myself."

Just then the object was about to come out. It seemed almost out and I put out my hand to feel it, but then it went back again. "O, my, I should never have done it from the beginning. Never again will I do it. I am surely going to die."

As we continued it became day and we laughed. Before that I had been unable to laugh.

The following night we were to eat peyote again. I thought to myself, "Last night it almost harmed me." "Well, let us do it again," they said. "All right, I'll do it." So there we ate seven peyote apiece.

Suddenly I saw a big snake. I was very much frightened. Then another one came crawling over me. "My God! where are these coming from?" There at my back there seemed to be something. So I looked around and I saw a snake about to swallow me entirely. It had legs and arms and a long tail. The end of this tail was like a spear. "O, my God! I am surely going to die now," I thought. Then I looked again in another direction and I saw a man with horns and long claws and with a spear in his hand. He jumped for me and I threw myself on the ground. He missed me. Then I looked back and this time he started back, but it seemed to me that he was directing his spear at me. Again I threw myself on the ground and he missed me. There seemed to be no possible escape for me. Then suddenly it occurred to me, "Perhaps it is this peyote that is doing this thing to me!" "Help me, O medicine, help me! It is you who are doing this and you are holy! It is not these frightful visions that are causing this. I should have known that you were doing it. Help me!" Then my suffering stopped. "As long as the earth shall last, that long will I make use of you, O medicine!"

This had lasted a night and a day. For a whole night I had not slept at all.

Then we breakfasted. Then I said, when we were through, "Let us eat peyote again to-night." That evening I ate eight peyote.

In the middle of the night I saw God. To God living up above, our Father, I prayed. "Have mercy upon me! Give me knowledge

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that I may not say and do evil things. To you, O God, I am trying to pray. Do thou, O Son of God, help me, too. This religion, let me know. Help me, O medicine, grandfather, help me! Let me know this religion!" Thus I spoke and sat very quiet. And then I beheld the morning star and it was good to look upon. The light was good to look upon. I had been frightened during the night but now I was happy. Now as the light appeared, it seemed to me that nothing would be invisible to me. I seemed to see everything clearly. Then I thought of my home and as I looked around, there I saw the house in which I lived far away among the Winnebago, quite close to me. There at the window I saw my children playing. Then I saw a man going to my house carrying a jug of whisky. Then he gave them something to drink and the one that had brought the whisky got drunk and bothered my people. Finally he ran away. "So, that is what they are doing," I thought to myself. Then I beheld my wife come and stand outside of the door, wearing a red blanket. She was thinking of going to the flagpole and was wondering which road she should take. "If I take this road I am likely to meet some people, but if I take the other road, I am not likely to meet anyone."

Indeed, it is good. They are all well—my brother, my sister, my father, my mother. I felt very good indeed. O medicine, grandfather, most assuredly you are holy! All that is connected with you, that I would like to know and that I would like to understand. Help me! I give myself up to you entirely!

For three days and three nights I had been eating medicine, and for three days and three nights I had not slept. Throughout all the years that I had lived on earth, I now realized that I had never known anything holy. Now, for the first time, I knew it. Would that some of the Winnebagoes might also know it!

Many years ago I had been sick and it looked as if this illness were going to kill me. I tried all the Indian doctors and then I tried all of the white man's medicines, but they were of no avail. "I am doomed. I wonder whether I will be alive next year." Such were the thoughts that came to me. As soon as I ate the peyote, however, I got over my sickness. After that I was not sick again. My wife had suffered from the same disease, and I told her that if she ate this medicine it would surely cure her. But she was afraid, although she had never seen it before. She knew that I used it, but nevertheless she was afraid of it. Her sickness was getting worse and worse and one day I said to her, "You are sick. It is going to be very difficult, but try this medicine anyhow. It will ease you." Finally she ate it. I had told her to eat it and then to wash herself and comb her hair and she would get well, and now she is well. Then I painted her face and took my gourd and began singing very much. Then I stopped. "Indeed, you are right,"

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159 794 276 The fact that he (my brother-in-law) told me that I understood pleased me, and I felt good when daylight came. (As a matter of fact) I had not received any knowledge.

After that I would attend meetings every once in a while, and I looked around for a woman whom I might marry permanently. Before long that was the only thing I thought of when I attended the meetings.

On one occasion we were to have a meeting of men and I went to the meeting with a woman, with whom I thought of going around the next day. That was (the only) reason I went with her. When we arrived, the one who was to lead asked me to sit near him. There he placed me. He urged me to eat a lot of peyote, so I did. The leaders (of the ceremony) always place the regalia in front of themselves; they also had a peyote placed there. The leader placed a very small one in front of himself this time. "Why does he have a very small one there?" I thought to myself. I did not think much about it.

159 794 786 276 It was now late at night and I had eaten a lot of peyote and felt rather tired. I suffered considerably. After a while I looked at the peyote and there stood an eagle with outspread wings. It was as beautiful a sight as one could behold. Each of the feathers seemed to have a mark. The eagle stood looking at me. I looked around thinking that perhaps there was something the matter with my sight. Then I looked again and it was really there. I then looked in a different direction and it disappeared. Only the small peyote remained. I looked around at the other people but they all had their heads bowed and were singing. I was very much surprised.

Some time after this (I saw) a lion lying in the same place (where I had seen the eagle). I watched it very closely. It was alive and looking at me. I looked at it very closely, and when I turned my eyes away just the least little bit it disappeared. "I suppose they all know this and I am just beginning to know of it," I thought. Then I saw a small person (at the same place). He wore blue clothes and a shining brimmed cap. He had on a soldier's uniform. He was sitting on the arm of the person who was drumming, and he looked at every one. He was a little man, perfect (in all proportions). Finally I lost sight of him. I was very much surprised indeed. I sat very quietly. "This is what it is," I thought, "this is what they all probably see and I am just beginning to find out."

Then I prayed to Earthmaker (God) "This, your ceremony, let me hereafter perform."

As I looked again, I saw a flag. I looked more carefully and (I saw) the house full of flags. They had the most beautiful marks on them. In the middle (of the room) there was a very large flag and it was a live one; it was moving. In the doorway there was another

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one not entirely visible. I had never seen anything so beautiful in all my life before. 159 794

Then again I prayed to Earthmaker (God). I bowed my head and closed my eyes and began (to speak). I said many things that I would ordinarily never have spoken about. As I prayed, I was aware of something above me and there he was; Earthmaker (God) to whom I was praying, he it was. That which is called the soul, that is it, that is what one calls Earthmaker (God). Now this is what I felt and saw. The one called Earthmaker (God) is a spirit and that is what I felt and saw. All of us sitting there, we had all together one spirit or soul; at least that is what I learned. I instantly became the spirit and I was their spirit or soul. Whatever they thought of, I (immediately) knew. I did not have to speak to them and get an answer to know what their thoughts had been. Then I thought of a certain place, far away, and immediately I was there; I was my thought. 786 276

I looked around and noticed how everything seemed about me, and when I opened my eyes I was myself in the body again. From this time on, I thought, thus I shall be. This is the way they are, and I am only beginning to be that way. "All those that heed Earthmaker (God) must be thus," I thought. "I would not need any more food," I thought, "for was I not my spirit? Nor would I have any more use of my body," I felt. "My corporeal affairs are over," I felt.

Then they stopped and left, for it was just dawning. Then someone spoke to me. I did not answer, for I thought they were just fooling, and that they were all like myself, and that (therefore) it was unnecessary for me to talk to them. So when they spoke to me I only answered with a smile. "They are just saying this to me because (they realize) that I have just found out," I thought. That was why I did not answer. I did not speak to anyone until noon. Then I had to leave the house to perform one of nature's duties and someone followed me. It was my friend. He said, "My friend, what troubles you that makes you act as you do?" "Well, there's no need of your saying anything, for you know it beforehand," I said. 159 794 276

Then I immediately got over my trance and again got into my (normal) condition, so that he would have to speak to me before I knew his thoughts. I became like my former self. It became necessary for me to speak to him.

Then I spoke to him and said, "My friend, let us hitch up these horses and then I will go wherever you like, for you wish to speak to me and I also want to go around and talk to you." Thus I spoke to him. "If I were to tell you all that I have learned, I would never be able to stop at all, so much have I learned," I said to him. "However, I would enjoy telling some of it." "Good," said he. He liked

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159 it (what I told him) very much. "That is what I am anxious to
794 hear," said he. Then we went after the horses. We caught one of
276 them but we could not get the other. He got away from us and we could not find him. We hunted everywhere for the horse but could not discover where he had run to. Long afterwards we found it among the whites.

Now since that time (of my conversion) no matter where I am, I always think of this religion. I still remember it and I think I will remember it as long as I live. It is the only holy thing I have been aware of in all my life.

After that whenever I heard of a peyote meeting, I went to it. However, my thoughts were always fixed on women. "If I were married (legally) perhaps these thoughts will leave me," I thought. Whenever I went to a meeting now I tried to eat as many peyote as possible, for I was told that it was good to eat them. For that reason I ate them. As I sat there I would always pray to Earthmaker (God). Now these were my thoughts. If I were married, I thought as I sat there, I could then put all my thoughts on this ceremony. I sat with my eyes closed and was very quiet.

159 Suddenly I saw something. This was tied up. The rope with
794 which this object was tied up was long. The object itself was run-
● 786 ning around and around (in a circle). There was a pathway there
276 in which it ought to go, but it was tied up and unable to get there. The road was an excellent one. Along its edge bluegrass grew and on each side there grew many varieties of pretty flowers. Sweet-smelling flowers sprang up all along this road. Far off in the distance appeared a bright light. There a city was visible of a beauty indescribable by tongue. A cross was in full sight. The object that was tied up would always fall just short of reaching the road. It seemed to lack sufficient strength to break loose (of what was holding it). (Near it) lay something which would have given it sufficient strength to break its fastenings, if it were only able to get hold of it.

I looked at what was so inextricably tied up and I saw that it was myself. I was forever thinking of women. "This it is to which I am tied," I thought. "Were I married, I would have strength enough to break my fastening and be able to travel in the good road," I thought. Then daylight came upon us and we stopped.

159 Then I thought of a man I used to know who was an old peyote-
794 man. He always spoke to me very kindly. I went over to see him.
276 I thought I would tell him what had happened to me. When I arrived there he was quite delighted. It was about noon and he fed my horses and asked me to eat with him. Then when we were through eating, I told him what had happened to me. He was very glad and told me that I was speaking of a very good thing. Then (finally) he said, "Now I shall tell you what I think is a good thing

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though I were going to die. I was very thirsty but I feared to ask for water. I thought that I was certainly going to die. I began to totter over.

I died, and my body was moved by another life. It began to move about; to move about and make signs. It was not I and I could not see it. At last it stood up. The regalia —eagle feathers and gourds —these were holy, they said. They also had a large book there (the Bible). These my body took and what is contained in that (book) my body saw. It was a Bible. The regalia were not holy, but they were good ornaments. My body told them that; and that if any person paid attention to Earthmaker's (God's) ceremony, he would be hearkening to what the Bible said; that, likewise, my body told them. Earthmaker's son (God's son) said that he was the only way. This means that one can only get life from the Word. (My) body spoke of many things and it spoke of what was true. Indeed it spoke of many things. It spoke of all the things that were being done (by the pagan Indians) and which were evil A long time it spoke. At last it stopped. Not I, but my body standing there, had done the talking. Earthmaker (God) had done his own talking. I would be confessing myself a fool if I were to think that I had said all this, it (my body) told me.

After a while I returned to my normal human condition. Some of those there had been frightened, thinking that I had gone crazy. Others had liked it. It was discussed a good deal. They called it the "shaking" state. It was said that the condition in which I was, was not part of Earthmaker's (God's) religion. I was told that whoever ate a lot of peyote would, through the peyote, be taught the teachings of Earthmaker (God). Earthmaker's (God's) ways and man's ways were different. Whoever, therefore, wished to help this religion must give himself up (to it). If you ate a good deal of this peyote and believed that it could teach you something, then it assuredly would do so. That, at least, is the way in which I understand the matter.

Once we had a meeting at the home of a member who was sick. The sick would always get well when a meeting was held in their home, and that is why we did it. At that meeting I got into the "shaking" condition again. My body told (us) how our religion (peyote) was an affair of Earthmaker's (God's) and even if one knew only a portion of it, one could still see (partake of) Earthmaker's (God's) religion.

Thus it went on talking. "Earthmaker (God), His Son (Christ) and His Holiness (the Holy Ghost), these are the three ways of saying it. Even if you know one (of these three), it means all. Every one of you has the means of opening (the road) to Earthmaker (God). It is given to you. With that (your belief) you can open (the door

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sung; after the second one a dance song is sung and all the guests who so desire dance around the war bundle; after the third one the host passes the drum and other paraphernalia to the guest who is in charge of the buckskin destined for Earthmaker. This guest repeats the ritual in exactly the same manner as the host has done and then passes the drum, etc., to the second guest, and when the time comes he passes the drum, etc., to the third guest. Then the ritual of the throwing out of the buckskins intervenes, and after that the feast of the Night Spirits and the rite of those who have been crazed by the Night Spirits. Then, when these are finished, the basic ritual is continued. The continuation is, however, quite different from the first part and is identical with the basic ritual as given in the first part of the ceremony.

(9) *The throwing out of the buckskins.*—A warrior of great reputation is selected to begin the rites preparatory to the throwing out of the buckskins. One who has been blessed by the Night Spirits is preferably selected. He delivers a speech, and when he is finished the guests sing songs called "terminal Night Spirit" songs. Then the host prepares to sing a dance song, but before that he delivers a speech. Then, as the oldest men present sing, the host and the guests impersonating the spirits to whom tobacco is sacrificed take the buckskins and make the circuit of the lodge four times. An attendant precedes and another follows the procession, scattering incense consisting of branches of the arbor vitæ. Just before the fourth circuit is begun all the children smoke their hands and then touch the buckskin dedicated to Earthmaker. After the fourth circuit has been completed the buckskins are unrolled and thrown out through the top of the lodge, where the spirits are supposed to come and take them. After this, all holding tobacco in their hands walk to the fireplace and throw it in. Then, as a conclusion, all, even the women, rise in their respective seats and dance.

(10) *The episode of those who have been crazed by the Night Spirits.*—This is plainly an intrusive feature and does not take place at every performance of the ceremony. An individual who has brought himself to a state of religious frenzy strips himself entirely and behaves generally like one bereft of his senses. He sticks his hands into the boiling soup and makes a wild rush for the pot where the heads are being cooked and tries to bite them. It is believed that whoever gets the first bite will, at some future time, obtain a war honor. Then he takes the pipe placed in the center of the lodge, smokes it, and relates some war exploits. He then tells the assembled guests that in his trance he communicated with the spirits, and they told him that they had accepted all the offerings made.[1]

[1] There can be no doubt that we are dealing with an extremely specialized and interesting behavior, that in other tribes, and for that matter among the Winnebago themselves in other ceremonies, has an entirely different connotation.

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war power and life we bless you,' they said. Then he looked at them. 796X
'I wonder whether they really are the Night Spirits!' he thought. 539X
They were not the Night Spirits who were speaking to him. The 787
birds that spoke were the *kawi'ege*, *tcōnʒji*, and *ci'k'ok'ok'*.[83] They 776
were the ones that spoke and they were the ones that fooled him. Instead of feeling sad this time, however (he said), 'I don't care what happens; I am willing to die (in order to get the blessing),' he thought to himself. Then he began fasting again. He rubbed the (charcoal) over (his face) again. Seven nights he fasted. And once again from the east the Night Spirits came singing. They came and stood (before him) and they said, 'Nephew, we bless you. So long have you been sad and cried to us piteously (that we will bless you). No one did we ever bless before. In war and life you shall do just as you wish,' they said. Then he looked again. 'I wonder whether those speaking are really the Night Spirits!' he thought. But they were not the Night Spirits. They were the bluebird, *ji'ege*,[84] and duck, and as many of them as there were, their breasts were dark. As many birds as there were, they were bad. 'My, O my! How they abuse me!' he cried. At first Djōbenągiwi'ąxga had thought in his fastings that just to spite them he would fast again. Now he rubbed (charcoal on his face) again and wept bitterly.[85] Both hands contained tobacco and he stood in the direction from which the Night Spirits came and weeping, put himself in the most abject condition.

"Now, indeed, to its very depths did his heart ache. Ten nights did he fast. Finally they (the Night Spirits) came after him. 'Human, I have come after you.' He followed (the spirits) and they took him to the east; to the site of a Night Spirit village they took him. The chief of the Night Spirits had sent this one to go after him. In the village was a long lodge standing in the east. There they took him. As many Night Spirits as there were in control of powerful blessings, of that many the lodge was full. When he entered he walked in white feathers up to his knees.[86] Many kettles and much food he saw stretched right across (the lodge). On the outside, a buffalo hide stretched almost across the entire lodge. Then they said to him, 'Human, without giving up, long you have suffered; your heart has, indeed, been sad. They, as many spirits as there are

[83] English equivalents for the first two unknown. The last is probably the robin.

[84] English equivalent unknown.

[85] He wept bitterly not so much on account of his disappointment as for the purpose of bringing himself into a state of religious ecstacy. The change of attitude from one of spite to realization that not in such a way were blessings from deities like the Night Spirits to be obtained is very well brought out here. It was a cardinal tenet of the religion of the devout shamanist that your success in obtaining blessings was in direct proportion to the motives and intensity of feeling you brought to your prayer. To throw away your life through mere disappointment was deemed absolutely unethical, (a thought that) is brought out quite distinctly in the systematic teachings given to the young. [786]

[86] The lodge of the Night Spirits are supposed to be strewn with white feathers as a sign of holiness. As far as known no symbolism is attached to it.

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FEAST TO THE NIGHT SPIRITS

539x 796x

Those who were called on for kettles now took the pieces of meat that had been counted for them (by the attendants). The attendants divided the pieces evenly for all those who did not eat heads. As soon as the distribution was finished then the host started playing his flute and all began to eat at the same time. The feasters are careful that they spill nothing and that the utmost precautions are taken. It is not proper to scatter the bones. They are afterwards gathered up and thrown in a consecrated place. Never do they talk frivolously throughout the night. Those who had obtained war honors as they sat near the fire would now tell of their war exploits—how many warpaths they had been on and how many fights they had been in. All night do they talk in this way. All night would the boys listen, it is said. They are asking for war powers; that war might come their way - that is why they do this (recount their war exploits). [264]

RITE OF THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN CRAZED BY THE NIGHT SPIRITS

As they do this some become crazed by the Night Spirits.[147] A religious frenzy comes over them.[148] All their clothes would be cast off, it is said. All naked, without any apparel, would the man dance around the lodge. All would sit waiting. They (these crazed ones) would not be in ignorance about the place where food was being boiled for the Night Spirits, and they would go toward it. Even if the kettle was boiling over the crazed ones would stick their hand in it. Similarly, as soon as the head was taken out from the place where it was being boiled, then these men would make a rush for it and try to get the first bite. Whoever was able to get the first bite would surely, at some later time, receive war honors. When they are finished with the rush for the head, then the feaster (i. e., the successful one) takes the pipe placed in the center of the lodge and smokes it. When he has finished he would tell of his war exploits and also tell them what offerings had been accepted by the spirits. That the one who has just come out of his trance would tell them. They (the spirits) told the feaster (i. e., the crazed one) that they had accepted all the things that had been offered the tobacco, the food, and the buckskins; that the feasters had done well.[149] However, not at every feast would a man become crazed, it is said. A holy person he would have to be. When the feasting is over and all have finished their meal, then the first one to whom a head had been apportioned and for whom a kettle had been placed rises and speaks.

539x 796x 786

[787]

[147] I. e., they get into a state of religious ecstasy through worship of the Night Spirits.
[148] Literally, "holiness comes over him."
[149] Apparently the one supposed to be crazed by the Night Spirits sees them in his ecstatic vision and finds out whether they are satisfied or not with the offerings.

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

that Earthmaker was good and that the peyote was good, and that whosoever ate the peyote would be able to free himself from the bad spirit. They said that Earthmaker forbids us to commit sins. When this was over they sang again. 159* 795 796

After midnight I would every now and then hear some one cry. In some cases I saw a person go up to the leader and talk to him. He would stand up and pray with him. I was told what these people were saying. I was told that these people were asking others to pray for them for they were sorry for the sins they had committed and wished to be prevented from committing them again. They cried very loudly. I was rather frightened, especially when I noticed that when I closed my eyes and sat still, strange things began to appear before me. I was not in the least sleepy. Then the light of morning came upon me. In the morning, when the sun rose, the ceremony stopped. All got up and prayed to Earthmaker and left. 159* 795 796

During the daytime I did not get sleepy in the least. My actions, however, were a little different from my usual ones. Then the people said, "To-night they are going to have another meeting. Let us go over. They say that this is the best thing to do for then, you can learn the ceremony immediately. It is said that the souls of the members of the peyote ceremony wander all over the earth and the heavens. All this you will learn and see." They continued, "At times the members die and remain dead all night and day. When in this condition they sometimes see Earthmaker, it is 159* 795 [794]

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

§31. *The Effects of the Peyote*

That night we went to the place where the peyote meeting was to be given. I was given a place to sit down and treated very kindly. "Well, he has come," they even said to me when I came, "make room for him." I thought they regarded me as a great man. John Rave, the leader, was to conduct the ceremony. He told of his conversion: 159* 795

John Rave's Conversion to the Peyote Religion

159* 795 786

During the years 1893 and 1894 I was in Oklahoma among the peyote eaters.

There one night, in the middle of the night, we were to eat peyote. I also ate some. Then later on in the night I got frightened for a living thing seemed to have entered me. "Why did I do it?" I thought. "I should not have done it for right at the beginning I have harmed myself. Indeed I should not have done it; I am sure it will injure me. The best thing for me to do will be to vomit it up. Well, now I am going to try it." After a few attempts I gave up. I thought to myself, "Well, now you have done it! You have been going around trying everything and now you have succeeded in doing something that will harm you. What is it? It seems to be alive and moving around in my stomach. If only some of my people were here! That

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) J926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

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would have been much better. Now, no one will know what became of me; I have killed myself."

Just then the object within me seemed to be coming out. It seemed almost out and I put my hand in my mouth to feel it, but then it went back again. "Oh my! I should never have done it at the very start. Never again will I do it. I am surely going to die!"

So we continued and then day dawned and I laughed. Before that I had been unable to laugh.

The following night we were to eat the peyote again. I thought to myself, "Last night it almost harmed me." "Well, let us eat the peyote again," the people said and I answered, "All right, I'll do it." So we ate seven peyote apiece.

Suddenly I saw a big snake. I was very much frightened. Then another one came crawling over me. "My God! Where are these snakes coming from?" There at my back there seemed to be something also. So I looked around and saw a snake about to swallow me entirely. It had legs and arms and a long tail. The end of its tail was like a spear. "O God! I am surely going to die now, I thought. Then I turned in another direction and I saw a man with horns and long claws and with a spear in his hand. He jumped for me and I threw myself on the ground. He missed me. Then I looked back. This time he started back but it seemed to me that he was directing his spear at me. Again I threw myself on the ground and he missed me. There seemed to be no possible escape for me. Then it suddenly occurred to me, "Perhaps it is the peyote that is doing this to me? Help me, O Medicine, help me! It is you who are doing this and you who are holy! Not these frightful visions are causing this. I should have known that it was you, indeed, who were doing it! Help me!"

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

The Effects of the Peyote

Then my suffering stopped. "As long as the earth shall last, that long will I make use of you, O Medicine!" 159* 995 986

This had lasted a night and a day. For a whole night I had not slept.

Then we breakfasted and when we were through I said, "Let us eat peyote again to-night." That evening I ate eight peyote.

In the middle of the night I saw God. To God living up above, our father, I prayed. "Have mercy upon me! Give me knowledge that I may not say and do evil things. To you, O God, I am trying to pray. Do thou, O Son of God, help me too. This religion, let me know this religion!" Thus I spoke and sat very quiet. Then I beheld the morning star and it was good to look upon; the light was good to look upon. I had been frightened during the night but now I was happy. Now as the light appeared it seemed to me that nothing would be invisible to me. I seemed to see everything clearly. Then I thought of my home and as I looked around there I saw the house in which I lived far away among the Winnebago. It was quite close to me. There at the window I saw my children at play and I saw a man going to my house carrying a jug of whisky. Then he gave them something to drink and the one who had brought the whisky got drunk and annoyed the people. Finally he ran away. "So this is what they are doing?" I thought to myself. Then I beheld my wife. She came out and stood outside the door wearing a red blanket. She was thinking of going to the flag pole and was wondering which road to take. "If I take this road I am likely to meet some people, but if I take the other, I am not likely to encounter any one." [176]

Indeed it is good. They are all well—my brother, my sister, my father, my mother. I felt very good indeed. O

Crashing Thunder

*159 795 ●786 Medicine, grandfather, most assuredly you are holy! All that is connected with you, that I would like to know and that I would like to understand. Help me! I give myself up to you entirely!

For three days and for three nights I had been eating the peyote and not slept at all. Now I realized that throughout all the years that I had lived, I had never once known a truly holy thing. Now, for the first time, I knew it. Would that some of the Winnebago might also know it!

*159 795 755 Many years ago I had been sick and it looked as if this sickness were going to kill me. I tried all the Winnebago doctors and then I tried all of the white man's medicines, all were of no avail. I thought to myself, "You are doomed. I wonder whether you will be alive next year?" Such were the thoughts that came to me. As soon as I ate the peyote, however, I got over my sickness. After that I was not sick again. My wife suffered from the same disease and I told her that if she ate the peyote it would cure her. She was afraid although she had never seen it before. She knew that I had used it and yet was afraid. Her sickness, however, got worse and worse and one day I said to her, "You are sick. It is going to be very difficult but try the peyote anyhow. It will ease you." Finally she ate it. I had told her to eat it and then wash herself and comb her hair and that she would get well. She got entirely well. I painted her face and took my gourd and began singing to her very much. Then I stopped. "Indeed, you are right," she said, "for now I am well." From that day to the present she has been well. Now she is very happy.

[551] A man named *Black-waterspirit* was having a hemorrhage at about that time and I wanted him to eat the peyote.

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

§32. *I Am Converted*

*159 795 On one occasion we were to have a meeting of men and women and I went to it with a woman, the one with whom I thought I would go around the next day. That was the only reason I went with her. When we arrived at the meeting, the leader asked me to sit near him and there I was placed. He urged me to eat many peyote and I did so. Now the leaders of the ceremony always place the sacred objects in front of themselves. The sacred peyote was also placed there. Now the one this particular leader placed in front of himself this time was a very small one. "Why does he have a very small one?" I thought to myself. However, I did not think of this matter long.

*159 795 ●786 It was now late at night. I had eaten a lot of peyote and felt rather tired. I suffered considerably. After a while I looked at the peyote, and there I saw an eagle standing with outspread wings. It was as beautiful a sight as could well be observed. Each of the feathers seemed to have a mark. The eagle stood there looking at me. I turned my gaze, thinking that perhaps there was something the matter with my sight, but then when I looked again the eagle was still present. Again I turned around and when I looked at the spot where the eagle had stood, it was gone and only the small

7:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

I Am Converted

peyote remained. I then watched the other people, but they all had their heads bowed and were praying. 159* 795 786

Suddenly I saw a lion lying in the same place where before I had seen the eagle. I watched it very closely and when I turned my eyes for the least little bit, it disappeared. "I suppose all those present are aware of this and I am just beginning to find out," I thought. Then I saw a small person at the same place. He wore blue clothes and a shining brimmed cap. He had on a soldier's uniform and was sitting on the arm of the person who was drumming, scrutinizing everybody. He was a little man but perfect in all proportions. Finally I lost sight of him. I was very much surprised indeed. I sat very quietly. "So this is what it is," I thought. "This is what they all probably see and which I am just now beginning to find out."

Then I prayed to Earthmaker, to God:

"This, your ceremony, let me hereafter perform!"

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§33. *I See God*

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● 786 As I looked again I saw a flag. I looked more carefully and I saw the house full of flags. They had the most beautiful marks on them. In the middle of the room there was a large flag, a living one. It was moving. In the doorway there was another one not entirely visible. I had never seen anything so beautiful in all my life before.

Again I prayed to God. I bowed my head and closed my eyes and began to speak. I said many things that I would ordinarily never have spoken about. As I prayed I was aware of something above me and there [996] He was, He to whom I was speaking, God. That which we call the soul, that it is which is God. This is what I felt and saw. The one called Earthmaker, God, is a spirit and He it was I felt and saw. At least this is what I learned. I instantly became their spirit; I was their spirit or soul. Whatever they thought of I immediately knew. I did not have to speak to them and get an answer to know what their thoughts were. Then I thought of a certain place far away, and immediately I was there. I was my thought.

I looked about and watched the people around me and then when I opened my eyes I was myself in body again. From now on thus it shall be, I felt. This is

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

the way they are and I am only now beginning to find out. "All those who heed God must be thus. I shall not need any more food for am I not my spirit? I shall have no more use of my body; my corporeal affairs are over." Thus I felt.

Then all stopped and left the lodge, for it had begun to dawn. Some one spoke to me. I did not answer, for I thought they were just fooling and that they were like myself, that therefore it would be unnecessary for me to speak to them. So instead of speaking I answered with a smile. "They are just saying this to me because they realize that I have only now found out," I thought. That was why I didn't answer. I did not speak to any one until noon. Then I had to leave the house to urinate and some one followed me. It was my friend. He said, "My friend, what troubles you that makes you act as you do?" "Well, there's no need of your saying anything, for you know it beforehand," I said. After saying this I got over my trance and was restored to my normal condition. My friend had to speak to me before I knew his thoughts. I became like my former self.

Then I spoke to him and said, "My friend, let us hitch up the horses and then I will go wherever you like, for you wish to speak to me and I also want to speak to you." I continued, "If I were to tell you all that I have learned, I should never be able to stop, so much have I learned. Yet I shall gladly tell some of it." "Good," said he. He liked what I told him very much. "I am anxious to hear what you have seen," he

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

§34. *Visions*

Now ever since that time, no matter where I am, I always think of this religion. I still remember it and I think I shall remember it as long as I live. It is the only holy thing that I have become aware of in all my life. 159* 795

After that, whenever I heard of a peyote meeting, I went to it.

My thoughts, however, were still always fixed on women. "If I were married legally, perhaps these thoughts would leave me," I thought. Whenever I went to a meeting, therefore, I tried to eat as many peyote as possible, for I was told that it was good to do that. I always prayed to Earthmaker as I sat there. Such were my thoughts. "If I were married," I thought, "then I should be able to put all my thoughts on this ceremony." I sat with my eyes closed, very quiet.

Suddenly I saw something. It was an object all tied up. The rope with which this object was tied up was long and the object itself was running around and around in a circle. A road was present in which it ought to have gone, but the object was so tied up that it was unable to reach it. The road was an excellent one. Along its edge grew blue grass and on each side 159* 795 786

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

*159 795 ●786 grew many varieties of pretty flowers. Sweet-smelling flowers sprang up all along its path. Far off in the distance appeared a bright light. There a city was visible, of beauty indescribable. A cross was in full sight. The object tied up would always just fall short of reaching the road. It seemed to lack sufficient strength to break loose from whatever it was that was holding it. Nearby lay something that would have given it sufficient strength to break its fastenings if it were only able to get there.

I looked at what was so inextricably tied up and I saw that it was myself. I was forever thinking of woman. "This it is with which I am tied," I thought to myself. "Were I married I would have strength enough to break my fastenings and be able to travel in the good road." Then daylight came upon us and the ceremony stopped.

*159 795 Then I thought of a man I used to know, an old peyote man. He always spoke kindly to me. I went over to see him. I thought that I would tell him what had happened to me. He was very glad and told me that I was speaking of a very good thing. Then finally he said, "Now I shall tell you what I think is a good thing for you to do. You know that if an old horse is balky, you cannot break him of this habit; even if you had bought him and tried to break him, you would not succeed. If, indeed, you had succeeded, it would only be after very hard work. However, if you had a young horse, you could train it in any way you wished. So it is in everything. If you marry a woman who has

§35. *I Have a Strange Experience*

* 159 795 ● 786 Many things are said under the influence of the peyote. The members get into a kind of trance and speak many things. On one occasion they had a peyote meeting which lasted two nights. I ate many peyote. The next morning I tried to sleep. I suffered a great deal. I lay down in a very comfortable position. After a while a fear arose in me. I could not remain in that place, so I went out into the prairie, but here again I was seized with this fear. Finally I returned to a lodge near the one in which the peyote meeting was being held, and there I lay down alone. I feared that I might do something foolish to myself if I remained there alone, and I hoped that some one would come and talk to me. Then some one did come and talk to me, but I did not feel any better. I went inside the lodge where the meeting was taking place. "I am going inside," I told him. He laughed, "All right, go in." I went in and sat down. It was very hot and I felt as though I was going to die. I was very thirsty, but I feared to ask for water. I thought that I was certainly going to die. I began to totter over.

I died and my body was moved by another life. I began to move about and make signs. It was not my-

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

self doing it and I could not see it. At last it stood up. The eagle feathers and the gourds, these it said, were holy. They also had a large book there. What was contained in that book, my body saw. It was the Bible. The sacred objects were not holy, but they were good ornaments. My body said that if any one paid attention to God's ceremony, he would be hearkening to what the Bible said. God's Son said that He was the only way. This means that one can only live from the word. My body spoke of many things and it spoke of what was true. It spoke of all the things that were being done by the Winnebago and that were evil. It spoke a long time and then stopped. Not I, but my body standing there, had done the talking. I should be confessing myself a fool if I were to think that I had said all this, my body told me.

After a while I returned to my normal condition. Some of the people present had been frightened thinking that I had gone crazy. Others, on the other hand, liked it. It was discussed a good deal; they called it the "shaking" state. It was claimed that the condition in which I had been was not part of God's religion. I was told that whoever ate a lot of peyote would, through the peyote, be taught the teachings of God. God's ways and man's ways are different. Whoever therefore wished to help this religion must give himself up to it. If you eat a good deal of the peyote and believed that it could teach you something, then it assuredly would do so. That, at least, is the way in which I understand this matter.

Crashing Thunder

159 Once we had a meeting at the home of a member who
[155] was sick. The sick would always get well when a meet-
795 ing was held in their home and that is why we used to
786 hold them there. At this particular meeting I got into the shaking condition again. My body told us how our religion was an affair of God's and how even if one knew only a portion of it, one could still partake of it. Thus it spoke. "God, His Son, and His Holiness, these are the three ways of saying it. Even if you know one of these three, it means all. Every one of you has the means of opening the road to Earthmaker. It is given to all of you. With belief you can open the door to God. You cannot open it with knowledge alone. How many letters are there to the *key*, to the road? Three. What are they? "There were many educated people present, but none of them said anything. "The first letter must be *K*." If, therefore, a person said *K*, that would be the whole of it. "But let me look into the Bible and see what it means," said the body. Then the body took the Bible and began turning the leaves. The body did not know where the passage was itself. Finally in Matthew, Chapter 16, it stopped. There it speaks about it. "Peter did not give himself up," it says. "For a long time he could not give up his own knowledge." There, in that passage, it says Key. That is the work of God. At least, so I understand it. He made use of my body and acted in this manner in the case of the peyote.

795 At one meeting O. L. spoke about the old stories.
539 He spoke as follows:

[1] [i.e., a peyote meeting.—Analyst]

so many Winnebago informed me, the most sacred and important of the ritual societies of this type was the Night-spirit one. It was practically gone when I first visited the tribe in 1909. In none of these rituals was there any control of membership or insistence upon a special code of conduct either before or after admission. 105 575 796 571

The warbundle ceremonies require a few words. Each performance is divided into two parts, the first presided over by the Thunderbird spirits and the second by the Night-spirits. However, all the great spirits of the Winnebago pantheon have their place in it and, to all, offerings are made. Although in the eyes of the Winnebago, the warbundle ritual is devoted entirely to the glorification of war, it is interesting and significant to see that, besides the great patrons of war, the Thunderbird spirits, Night-spirits, Sun, Morning Star, Evening Star, Disease-giver, Eagle, Black Hawk, specific peace deities like Earthmaker, Earth, Moon and Water are also included and, at times, even the hero-deities, Trickster, Turtle and Hare. From this we can infer that even in a ceremony devoted preeminently to the enhancement of the importance of the warrior and of warfare, deities symbolizing peace and the antithesis of violence and force, could not be entirely left out. Admittedly their inclusion had little effect upon the one and insistent prayer of the participants, war. Even Earthmaker is represented as bestowing success on the warpath, something completely new. Yet the mere fact that Earthmaker was included did act as a reminder that the pursuit of war was not everything. 105 721 796

The warbundle rituals represent the classic and most complete expression of the war spirit, the glorification of the viewpoint of the chief of the lower division of the tribe, namely, that one goes out to combat evil, militantly and with violence. In fact, you must pre-enact the enemy's attack, your method of coping with it, and the manner in which the enemy is to be defeated and overwhelmed. Even orgies, where all self-control is abandoned, are permitted, something that was always abhorrent to the normal Winnebago and greatly dreaded. The remark made to me by the Indian who translated the text, relative to such orgies is quite illuminating here. 'It is good to have one Indian work himself into a paroxysm of enthusiasm but it must never be more than one!' [786]